Masala Newsletter
Virtuelle Fachbibliothek Südasien

Jg. 7, Nr. 1, Januar 2012

Liebe Leserin, lieber Leser,

nach den Feiertagen beginnt langsam wieder der Stress und mit diesem möchten wir uns in der neuen Ausgabe unseres Newsletters Masala auch inhaltlich beschäftigen. „Arbeit in Südasien" lautet diesmal unser Thema des Quartals und Hasan Ashraf und Christian Strümpell bieten Ihnen in ihrem gemeinsamen Artikel „Stress and Modern Work: Ethnographic Perspectives from Industries in Bangladesh" nicht nur einen interessanten Einblick in die Arbeitswelt der bangladeschischen Textil- bzw. Metallindustrie, sondern analysieren auch, wie hier Diskurse über Stress eine Rolle spielen.

In einem Gastbeitrag stellt Ihnen Ekkehard Henschke anschließend das deutsch-indische Bildungsprojekt Shiksha Sankalp vor, das sich für die Förderung von inklusiven Schulen in Indien einsetzt. Zudem bieten wir Ihnen zwei Berichte über die Summer School „Cultures of Consumption in Asia and Europe" sowie die vergangene Jahrestagung des Exzellenzclusters "Asia and Europe in a Global Context", die dieses Mal unter dem Thema "Frontiers of Knowledge – Health, Environment and the History of Science" stand.

Hinweisen möchten wir Sie zudem auf den Vortrag „Leidenschaft leben über 8000" von Gerlinde Kaltenbrunner am 17. Januar, der gemeinsam vom Südasien-Institut mit der Heidelberger Geographischen Gesellschaft organisiert wurde.

Die besten Wünsche für das neue Jahr 2012 und viel Spaß beim Lesen wünscht Ihnen

Hans-Martin Kunz

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Veranstaltungshinweise rund um die Südasienwissenschaften

Konferenzen, Kolloquien, Workshops

20.01. – 21.01. *Mythen aus Asien – ein deutsch-asiatischer Workshop*
Institut für Indologie der Universität Mainz

06.02. – 17.02. *Malayalam Winter School*
Abteilung für Indologie, Universität Tübingen

Vorträge

16.01. Centre for Modern Indian Studies (CeMIS), Göttingen
Kaustubh Sengupta, Neu Delhi
Company's Calcutta: Establishing a New Order in the Late-eighteenth Century

17.01. Heidelberger Geographische Gesellschaft & Südasien-Institut der Universität Heidelberg
Gerlinde Kaltenbrunner
Leidenschaft leben über 8000

23.01. Zentrum Moderner Orient, Berlin
Mana Kia, Berlin
Urban Sociability Among 18th and Early 19th Century Mobile Persians Between Iran and India

23.01. Centre for Modern Indian Studies (CeMIS), Göttingen
Rukmini Barua, Göttingen
The Housing Question in Workers' Neighbourhoods of Post-Mill-Closure Ahmedabad

26.01. Abteilung für Indologie, Universität Tübingen
Borayin Larios, Heidelberg
Wandel und Wiederaufbau der vedischen Identität im modernen Indien. Beispiele aus Vedaschulen in Maharashtra

26.01. Indien-Institut, München
Dietmar Rothermund, Heidelberg
Republic Day. 60 Jahre diplomatische Beziehungen zwischen Deutschland und Indien

27.01. Seminar für Südasien-Studien, Humboldt Universität zu Berlin
Nadja-Christina Schneider, Berlin
Nach Fukushima: Die Atomenergiedebatte in Indien

29.01. Völkerkundemuseum der J. & E. von Portheim-Stiftung, Heidelberg
Norbert Deuchert, Heidelberg
Die Göttin Tara

30.01. Centre for Modern Indian Studies (CeMIS), Göttingen
Stefan Tetzlaff, Göttingen
What's a Modern Transport Economy in the Colony? Motor Vehicle Laws and Policies in India on the Eve of World War II

10.02. Seminar für Südasien-Studien, Humboldt Universität zu Berlin
Hermann Kreutzmann, Berlin
Wasser als Ressource in Südasien

23.02. Zentrum Moderner Orient, Berlin
Seema Kazi, Neu Delhi
Kashmir: Beyond Borders, Ethnicity and Sovereignty

Ausstellungen

12.04.11 - 01.04.12 Museum Rietberg, Zürich
Tradition und Innovation – Drei Malergenerationen in Nordindien

15.04.11 – 05.02.12 Staatliches Museum für Völkerkunde, München
Zweigstelle im Residenzschloss Oettingen
Gesichter des Buddha - Kunst des Buddhismus in Asien

23.09.11 – 15.01.12 Museum Rietberg, Zürich
Mystik – Die Sehnsucht nach dem Absoluten

04.12.11 – 04.03.12 Völkerkundemuseum der J. & E. von Portheim-Stiftung, Heidelberg
Indische Malerei. Bilder von Ständen und Berufen aus Tanjore

17.01.12 – 18.02.12 Indischen Botschaft, Berlin
God's Own World - An Insight – Paintings by Sambit Panda

ab 03.04.12 Museum Rietberg, Zürich
Götterwelten

21.04.12 – 21.10.12 Rautenstrauch-Joest-Museum, Köln
Rama und Sita - Indiens schönste Liebesgeschichte

Sonstige Veranstaltungen

18.01. Centre for Modern Indian Studies (CeMIS), Göttingen
The Play Goes On
Dokumentarfilm über eine politische Straßentheatergruppe in Delhi
Der Filmemacher Lalit Vachani wird bei der Vorführung anwesend sein

Gerlinde Kaltenbrunner - Leidenschaft leben über 8000

In zahlreichen Expeditionen bricht Gerlinde Kaltenbrunner im kleinen Team, mit Minizelt und wenig Gepäck zu den höchsten Bergen des Himalaya auf. Ohne fest installierte Hochlager, ohne Hochträger und ohne Sauerstoff. Bergsteigen im Alpinstil! Im Sommer 2011 erreicht sie nach vielen Rückschlägen den Gipfel des K2.

Die Anfänge ihrer Leidenschaft zum Berg spiegeln sich in Bildern aus ihrer Jugend wieder. Gemeinsam mit dem Pfarrer ihrer Heimatgemeinde Spital am Pyhrn erstieg Gerlinde Kaltenbrunner ihre ersten namhaften Berge in der Region, die ihr zum Grundpfeiler für den weiteren Weg zu den Himalajariesen wurden. 1994 stand sie mit nur 23 Jahren zum ersten Mal über 8.000 Meter – am Vorgipfel des Broad Peak (8.027 m). Mit der erfolgreichen Besteigung des K2 ist sie die erste Frau, die alle 8000er ohne künstlichen Sauerstoff bestiegen hat.

Doch Rückschläge sind fester Bestandteil dieser riskanten Unternehmungen. An Hand der Beispiele Dhaulagiri an dem sie 2007 von einer Lawine mitgerissen wurde und dem Lhotse zeigt Kaltenbrunner wie das Umkehren mit genügend Beharrlichkeit dennoch in Erfolg münden kann. Die erfolgreiche Besteigung des Dhaulagiri und die Erfahrungen am K2 in Pakistan bilden den letzten Teil des Vortrags. Die Besteigung dieses schwierigsten aller 8000er bieten den Rahmen für eine erneute Auseinandersetzung mit dem Spannungsfeld Wagnis – Rückzug – Erfolg.

Es erwartet Sie ein abwechslungsreicher Vortrag, der sie mit spannenden Bildern und Videosequenzen in die Welt der 8000er aus Fels, Schnee und Eis entführt. Gerlinde Kaltenbrunner spricht live zu ihren Bildern.

Dienstag – 17. Januar 2012 – 19 Uhr
Großer Hörsaal der Physik
Im Neuenheimer Feld 308
69120 Heidelberg

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10 € HGG-Mitglied
15 € ermäßigt

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Arbeit in Südasien

Stress and Modern Work: Ethnographic Perspectives from Industries in Bangladesh

Christian Strümpell & Hasan Ashraf

Less than a century ago Western medical science developed the concept "stress" which, after the Second World War, was rapidly taken up and disseminated by the mass media and since then permeates everyday discourse (Young 1980: 133). In Western Europe and North America, stress is *the* dominant trope on the predicament of modern fast-paced and success-oriented societies, especially in the context of modern work. About one out of four European workers reports having to work at very high speed all or almost all the time, and in the USA one out of four workers complains about being frequently burned out or stressed by his or her job (European Foundation for the Improvement of Living and Working Conditions 2006).

Correspondingly, it is occupational psychology that provides some of the dominant academic models on stress, the "job-demand-control"- model (Karasek and Theorell 1990) and the "effort-reward-imbalance"-model (Siegrist et. al. 2004), both of which emphasize that social factors are crucial for "buffering" the "stressful" work regimes workers and employees face today.

With (neoliberal) globalization, success-oriented Western work regimes and life-styles, accompanied by stress, are allegedly spreading across the globe, especially into the Asian growth economies. Nevertheless, though social factors occupy a prominent position in analyses of stress, anthropological engagements with the concept itself as well as the discourses and practices surrounding it are almost non-existent. Among the rare exceptions is Allan Young, who critically enquires into the discourse on stress. He claims that the contemporary pervasiveness of stress rests on the "congruence between the ideological content of the stress literature and […] the beliefs most middle class Americans hold about man's social nature" (Young 1980: 133). It is this congruence that renders the stress concept commonsensical, i.e. a concept "mirroring the real conditions of existence" (ibid), describing them without distorting them. By pointing to this ideological dimension of stress Young explicitly aims neither to challenge the scientific facts stress research has produced, nor to deny the reality of the suffering experienced by "stressed" individuals (ibid). Instead, his aim is to reveal how the production in discourse and practice of a concept such as "stress" opens up at a socio-culturally and historically contingent moment certain possibilities of "being in the world" and at the same time forecloses others (cf. Hacking 1999, 2002).

In the same vein, we aim to establish in our respective research projects how "stress" is discursively and practically produced in Bangladesh. We aim to trace how "stress" relates to local, Bangla concepts for strains, felt imbalances between efforts and rewards, or a felt lack of control over external demands, how it augments or replaces them, and how it shapes subjectivities. For obvious reasons we chose industrial workers in the "sweatshops" producing for multinational companies or in other factories as focus of our respective research projects. Since our research projects are still ongoing, our aims in this article are more modest. We will confine ourselves to mapping what Robin Root (2008) has called in a different ethnographic setting "risk assemblages", i.e. the plural array of concepts, narratives and practices that constitute the lens through which occupational hazards are viewed (cf. Cross 2010). We will map risk assemblages as we encountered them in our respective research sites: garment factories and rolling mills in Bangladesh's industrial, economic and political capital Dhaka.

The Garment Industry

Bangladesh's economic transformation from a rural subsistence to an urban, private-sector-led export-oriented industry started with the advent of the global ready-made garment (RMG) industries since the late 1970s. The first boom in the RMG sector took place in mid-1980s and thereafter the rapid expansion of the sector drew ever more people from rural areas into urban factories. Currently, Bangladesh is the 3rd largest RMG exporter in the world, a "success" that is based on low production costs including cheapest labor in the apparel sector. This multi-billion industry constitutes the main export earnings of Bangladesh (78% in 2010 and counted US $15.56 billion) and employs more than 3.6 million workers, of whom nearly 80% are women. Employing women as garment factory workers was "an ingenious innovation of the nascent Bangladeshi industrialist" (Ahmed 2004:38), but fits well into the global process of the feminization of the labor force in so-called Third World countries since the 1970s (Pearson 1992).

The media and successive Bangladesh governments portray the country's garment workers as the "pride" of the nation and female workers as the "golden girls", an image that also serves as an indicator of Bangladeshi women's emancipation in popular national and global discourses. These powerful images of industrial success and social change obscure the daily reality of the garment workers in and beyond the factories, which are as much produced by a factory regime based on a high level of job insecurity, tremendous time pressure, violence, and sexual harassment of women workers, as by aspirations of upward mobility.

The central focus of Ashraf's research and this section of the article are the perceptions of Dhaka's garment workers on the factory regime they are subjugated to and their understanding of the "stress" they experience, as well as other health hazards and risk factors this entails. To gain an anthropological understanding of these perceptions and the ways they are shaped by, or shape, factory regimes, Ashraf visited various factories and worked in a typical mediumsized non-compliance RMG factory[1] (located in the North-West part of Dhaka) as a line quality checker from August 2010 to November 2010.

The Local Garment Factory Regime

Single RMG factories or the conglomerates making up "export processing zones" operate as economic enclaves of global production chains, they exhibit characteristics of regimented production systems. In general, entry and exit to and from the factory are highly restricted. Fulltime professional sentries monitor the entry and exit of workers around the clock, management staff, input goods and finished products thus exemplifying the level of distrust with which management views their staff. The main monitoring exercise is the body checking of workers and mid-level management staff at the factory gate when entering and especially when leaving the factory. Without a special permission of the production manager it is almost impossible to leave the factory building during working hours and also within the factory or even between assembly lines the mobility of the workers is closely monitored by the management. This constant restriction on their mobility is experienced by workers as a massive strain and they often say that the factory is nothing but a prison.

The organization of the workers on the shop floor involves gender-based control, as most of the line supervisors and quality controllers are men while machine operators and helpers are mostly women. The use of highly abusive words is practiced to control the workers, and sexual harassment is commonplace. The "line layout" or arrangement of the machines is designed depending on the type of work-order with the goal of obtaining the maximum production output within the shortest possible time. The target thereby is to reduce the production time and cost as much as possible. The model of assembly line production system followed in the garment factories in Dhaka contains a self-control labor mechanism derived from the conflicting goals of maintaining quality and simultaneously increasing the quantity of production. Both are tied to the daily production target, which is mandatory for the workers. The Floor Quality Controller and his team members control the overall quality of products and the Production Manager (PM) and the line supervisors are assigned to keep the production pace up.

Women working at the sewing machines

At each sewing machine, while the operator aims for a higher production output per hour, the helper's role is to check alterations and the quality of the product (Fig. 1). Helpers are repeatedly instructed by the line supervisors and line quality controllers not to pass sewed fabric with any defect to the next machine in the line. On the other hand, operators continually put pressure on the helpers to hand over the sewed bundle to the next machine, so that the operators can fulfill the hourly target. A mistake in one machine slows down the production of the whole line, thus endangering the production target. This is the reason why workers exert pressure on their workmates to keep up the production pace, while the PM or line supervisors keep insisting on a faster speed of production. The tension between quality and quantity increase leads to an internal conflict amongst the workers themselves, as well as between the workers and the management staff. The conformity and conflicts among workers are another source of stress. This also hinders the emergence of workers' solidarity in claiming rights or negotiating with the authorities. For faster production, workers are highly discouraged from any movement in the line and from leaving the machines. The management keeps the workers "aligned" with the machines. This creates a very intimate relationship between the workers and machines.

The average daily working hours in the factory range from eleven to thirteen hours a day, six days a week, apart from night shifts. Work end-time is not the same for all assembly lines or output tables. It mainly depends on the production target for the day, and the line supervisors keep a few operators and helpers to finish the daily target of production or to do alterations on items returned to the line from the output table. In many instances the weekly day off was cancelled in order to meet the shipping deadline.

After going through all these processes of the production systems, the payment of wages and overtime often has no fixed date. Delayed payment makes workers' lives harder as it delays the timely payment of the house or room rent or credit in the neighborhood shops. Crossing out overtime hours as a form of punishment leaves deep scars on the minds of workers since they remain without pay for the labor they have given to the factory. Above all, jobs in the garment factories are unstable. Firing workers on the spot and threats of doing so are very frequent. This job insecurity gives the workers a feeling of mental vulnerability.

Risk Assemblages Around the RMG Sector

Commenting on her situation, Nilofar, Ashraf's co-worker, recited the Bangla proverb *bol bol nijer bol; jol jol nodir jol* ("Your own labor resembles the water of a river"). She thereby expressed the workers' shared notion that labor is the only way to make a living, as the river can only exist as long as the water is there. Nilofar concluded by saying that the day would come when her body would not be able to work at the demanding pace of the factory, and that would be the end of her job. Like most of her co-workers, she was convinced that work in a garment factory would soon wear her out. The term "stress" that permeates Western everyday discourse on demanding jobs is not used by the garment workers to describe their working environment, but the strain is omnipresent. The whole working day one hears sighs of deep grief. Workers say "I can't do any more" or "This is beyond my limits" or that *tension* and *chaap* ("pressure") are overburdening[2].

In addition to the tension and pressure, workers complain about specific health problems caused by the particular tasks to which they are assigned. According to workers' understandings, different types of sewing machines cause different types of bodily distress, resulting in particular physical problems or syndromes. Each machine requires a specific seating position and bodily technique to run it. Different types of stitches require a different pace of the motor for stop-start-pause of the sewing machines, and all of them require the workers' full

concentration to avoid mistakes. RMG production is thus based upon a very intimate man-machine unit. Human bodies are perceived as an associated and integral part of the machines. Working monotonously on specific machines causes different kinds of bodily discomfort i.e. headache, neck pain, back pain, shoulder pain, pain and burning of the eyes, aching joints and pulled muscles. In the long run these problems may become chronic. The maintenance of the machines is also a crucial task for the workers to keep up a smooth production. Furthermore, the electric sewing machines are connected to an overhead power strip placed above each production line and alongside a row of bright white fluorescent lights that generate a heat that dries out the body when the factory – as is generally the case – does not maintain exhaust-fans. The feelings of fatigue and general weakness are often related to the electricity that "sucks out the blood and body energy". In addition to the tension and pressure caused by the pace of work, the pains deriving from long periods of sitting bent over machines, and the suffocating heat, everybody in the factory, even the director and the PMs, was convinced that the workers' exposure to dust and fibers cause, amongst other diseases, tuberculosis. After a couple of hours of work when heads, machines and hands are covered with fabric dust and the hair has become white, one can often hear jokes such as "it's snowing" or "we all have aged". Workers are provided with facial masks allegedly to protect themselves from dust and fibers, but they are rarely worn. Wearing these masks makes it almost impossible for workers to communicate with each other, and their rejection is an attempt to retain some minimal agency.

The mutually contradictory demands of time pressure and production target are the key to a higher rate of production for the factory and a great source of stress for the workers. On average, most of the workers spend more time in the factory than at home. The hostile working environment makes them hate their job. On the shop floor Ashraf also frequently heard remarks such as "Working in the garment factory means you agree to reduce your lifetime". For the workers themselves being a "garment worker" means being exploited and betrayed by factory owners, by political leaders and the government, and by the global clothing firms. This sense of betrayal also corresponds to the dominant image of the garment workers in public discourse as a social group with loose morals, which is due in part to the perception that "garment girls" are more independent than most other women as they are working in public space with male strangers, beyond the "proper" control of their family. It is this alleged "loose morality" which makes it difficult for "garment girls" (*garments-er meye*) to have a good marriage back in the villages or in the town, as Ashraf was often told. For male garment workers, it is a continuous grievance that "You cannot get married with the money that you get from this job because it is not enough to maintain a wife". The threat this poses to their masculinity often results in depression or in aggressive behavior towards management as well as towards their – especially female – co-workers. A common statement workers gave is: "If one had not committed a crime or sinned in life one would not join the garment factory". Taken together all this creates a low status of garment worker in the society as a whole and their consequent struggle for dignity is a constant source of stress, though they do not express it in such terms.

However, when managers and factory owners speak about the RMG business they often say that it is mere "stress", thus using the English term itself. The range of issues threatening the smooth running of the RMG business is indeed very broad and includes the work-order negotiations with Western buyers on the production quality and the adherence to delivery within the agreed so-called "lead-time", it includes concerns about energy and power cuts, massive labor riots, local political unrest, about a volatile international cotton market, and about competition with other RMG producing countries. Aside material gain, factory owners and senior management often told that these high risks and uncertainties involved in the industry make them suffer from sleep related problems, loss of appetite, repeated headaches, continuous anxiety, mental outburst, cardiovascular or heart related diseases and diabetes. As Ashraf was told by the factory director, "responsibility" of running the whole factory is a job of extreme tension and certainly unhealthy. Of course, "stressed" managers get much higher rewards for the "stress" they suffer from and most of the threats to the profitability of their business they successfully pass down to the workers they manage. However, what we

do want to emphasize is that a discourse of "stress" exists around Dhaka's RMG industries, but that it remains confined to the middle and upper classes.

Moral Politics

All actors involved in the RMG sector share the hope that the industry keeps growing at its rapid pace. Industrialists and managers thrive for better market shares and profits and workers hope for "living wages" and other labor rights. Also the government has a vital interest in the continuous growth of the RMG business and lately introduced an "industrial police force" to protect especially the RMG sector from political turmoil. On all these different levels, actors underpin their claims with particular notions of morality to strengthen their own positions and interests.

On the factory floor, management frequently tries by various means to morally oblige the workers to work more. For instance, managers often tell workers it is the company that provides the money that enables the workers to eat, pay rent, and buy other things, and that the latter should therefore feel obliged to justify their wage, to make the money *halal*, or religiously-morally justified. Workers of course know (and experience frequently) that they are treated by management as just a commodity that is hired and fired at will without any moral entitlements. They therefore reject the moral claims management makes on them when the latter is under pressure from Western buyers to deliver on time and therefore depends on the workers' overtime work. As the workers put it, " We are not married to the owner or to the company so why should we do unpaid overtime?!?".

Workers face the moral claims, not only of management, but also of the national and state governments in their struggle against their insecurity, exploitation, and the health risks that come along with it, but also governments and state administration. After some massive labor riots in July 2010 leaving several factories vandalized, major political leaders claimed that a "true worker" would never destroy his machine or factory because it provides him with his bread. Furthermore, factory owners as well as political leaders regularly invoke the moral dimension of nationalism. Thus, the current president of the Bangladesh Garment Manufacturers and Exporters Association (BGMEA), Shafiul Islam Mohiuddin (former second vice president in 2010), claimed in an international apparel and textile exposition in Dhaka in 2010 that the "RMG sector is no longer an individual property now. It has become a "national asset" and it is our noble duty to support this industry wholeheartedly. The vision of economic freedom is no more a myth. 'Made in Bangladesh' has become the ambassador of our identity in the developed world" (BGMEA 2010:16). The president, other RMG industrialists and politicians of the major political parties do not tire to emphasize that all activities that go against a smooth running of the RMG sector also go against the interest of the nation at large and they allege that labor riots are instigated by foreign governments keen to grab Bangladesh's position as the global garment factory.

We suggest, very tentatively, that the labor riots might be relevant from a different vantage point. According to Young (1980: 133), the stress discourse prevailing in the West "banishes the arena of conflicting class and group interests from the real conditions of existence" and thus de-politicizes them. We hope to have shown that in Bangladesh this discourse has so far not gained any hegemony over the labor force. How this shapes workers' subjectivities and how these inform conflicting class interests around the garment factories still needs to be investigated.

The "Iron World"

Away from the ready-made garment factories, at the southern end of the old town of Dhaka and on the banks of the river Buriganga lies the industrial estate of Postagola. The river connects the industrial estate with the world's major dumping yard for deep-sea vessels, the ship-breaking yards in Bangladesh's southern province Chittagong which function as the country's major source of steel (Rousmaniere, Raj 2007) and from where Postagola's traders obtain the plates they resell to other businessmen running the local rolling mills. The rolling mills produce iron rods, angles, and bars for the construction industry that booms alongside Dhaka's skyrocketing real estate market, and traders claim that profits are extremely high.

During his first visit, Strümpell was told that Postagola is an "iron world", a *lohar jogot*, an expression any visitor is bound to instantly consider rather apt. Already when approaching Postagola the air fills with the noise of truck motors, welders, gas-cutters, and above all a continuous noise of iron battering on iron. Three-hundred traders maintain small oneroom shops along the two twenty-meter broad muddy roads passing through the estate. Half of the roads are covered by piles of steel plates still wearing several layers of marine paint, by groups of workers hammering and gas-cutting these plates into even and smaller ones, and by sheds for shearing machines where other workers cut these plates into slim strips of steel. These are fed into the ovens gathering under the corrugated iron roof of the rolling mill, a huge shed towering over the industrial estate.

Inside the 50 meter wide and 300 meter long mill where Strümpell worked for five weeks during his field research in August and September 2010, the motors running the train of rolls add to the overall noise. Each train of rolls stands next to one of the dozen ovens (*bati*) arranged in two rows alongside the axis of the mill and each pair of oven and rolling train is run by another businessman who leases it from the actual owner of the mill complex, a powerful local politician. Every morning Strümpell joined the group of twenty men engaging in "packing", that is, folding four- to eight-meter long steel bars into bundles of half that length, weighing them and stacking them on a pile towards the middle of the mill nearby the gates from where they are dispatched to customers. The gang of packers works for around two hours four times a day, whenever the re-heated charge of steel strips of four ovens has been rolled out and left to cool down somewhere between the train of rolls and the factory walls. One among the packers acts as their leader, calls others to work and receives payments from the businessman and distributes them among his group, but he does the same kinds of work as anybody else in his group.

While working with the packers, Strümpell could directly observe the gang of ten to fifteen workers operating the oven and the rolls just five meters away under the supervision of a handful of *engineers* as the workers call them, or *foremen* as the businessmen do. Among the operators the *engineer* or *foreman* is the most powerful figure. He is a worker who has gathered over a period of twenty years or so an intricate knowledge (*gomor*) of the production process, the rolling trains and the ovens, a knowledge that enables him to organize the work, check the heat of the metal in the ovens, the position of the rolls and the size of the iron bars, angles or rods that are going to be rolled. He is responsible for the production, but himself works only every alternate break to regulate the position of the rolls and also has to repair the rolling train whenever one of the rolls breaks, which happens nearly every day. There are always three *engineers* or *foremen* around and their number is required because though they sit on a rusty steel chair right at the entrance gate or on the tool box opposite the rolling trains for the better part of their working day, their maintenance-and-repair work is quite physically demanding, largely because it has to be done as quickly as possible in order to avoid production losses.

The hookwala, barely protected from the heat

On the side of the rolling train the oven has three bays, two of which are always covered by a heavy iron plate while at the third, open bay stands the *hookwala,* barely protected from the heat by his worn-out full-pants, full-sleeve cotton T-Shirt, gloves, discarded military boots, sunglasses, and around his head a cotton towel (Fig. 2). With a two-meter long iron hook, the *hookwala* pulls the red hot stripes of iron out of the oven onto the floor where they are picked up with long tongs by his assistant in similar dress who drags them behind the *polishwala*, the most senior, experienced and skilled among the operators. The *polishwala* also wears old military boots, sunglasses, and a towel around his head and inserts the red hot iron bar into the slot between first pair of roll with shorter tongs. The sheared iron rods are always still bent when they come out of the oven and are thus more difficult to handle before they get continuously

rolled out into evenly shaped flat bars. On the other side of the rolling train another *polish-wala* receives the rod and pushes it through the next pair of rolls where it is taken up by a worker pushing it back onto the other side and so on until they come out of the eighth pair of rolls, rolled into the desired shape, two centimeters wide and around four to eight meters long. Here they are taken up by the most junior worker, normally a boy of not more than twelve to fourteen years of age, who uses a short pair of tongs to swing the rolled-out rods in an almost elegant move to the side on a pile where they are left to cool down.

The work stations at the oven and the rolls are assigned to particular workers according to their respective age and skill, reflecting in their respective pay. Among the operators, the two *polishwalas* are elder than the others, have worked for more years in the trade, and earn per six-hour-shift 120 *taka* (1 Euro equalling roughly 90 *taka*), the two operators next to them at the next pairs of rolls 80, the following two earn 70 and their neighbors 60, while the boy piling up the rolled-out rods gets merely 50 *taka*.

The operators work in a focused way without talking to each other, and in any case it is too loud for conversation when the rolling trains are running. They push, and often try to throw, the hot rods through the rolls one after the other, continuously for three-quarters of an hour. However, the work rhythm is not as monotonous as the grind of assembly line production in Dhaka's garment industries. At the rolling trains in Postagola, a worker need not attend to each rod as the rolls disgorge them, but might well take the time to pick a cigarette from his pocket, lighting it on one of the four or five rods that lie at his feet, and take a few drags before quickly pushing the rods through the next pair of rolls to his side, all the time with his cigarette in his mouth. Strümpell never heard any worker complaining about a stressful time regime, and in fact rolling mill workers do not seem to suffer one.

Furthermore, breaks are frequent: Whenever the *engineers* regulate or repair the rolling train the large motor driving it is switched off and the noise that normally forces everybody to either yell or keep quiet is suddenly stilled. The roller operators quickly gather in front of the large ventilators standing on three corners of the rolling train with the more senior among them standing closer to them so that they have a better share of the cool, almost alpine air the ventilators churn out. Workers also take such a break for drinking water, urinating, smoking a cigarette, or having tea at the stall outside the mill's premises. When a roll cracks such a break can last for an hour or two, and that's the reason why the workers celebrate every breakdown with great zest. Even when no roll cracks or nothing has to be adjusted, the foremen call for fifteen to twenty minutes' break every three-quarters of an hour.

The frequency of breaks is regarded as the necessary minimum to make the operators sustain the enormous heat to which they are exposed. The heat in the ovens is around 1200° Celsius, the foremen guess, but there is no device to measure it. The heat from the ovens and from the yellow-red glowing rods is so intense that even at the last station where the boy picks up the rolled-out rods one feels that it is too hot to sweat there and that it dries even up one's tears. Hossain, the most senior among the *engineers* or *foremen*, told me that though the work looks tough, it is in fact much more arduous than it appears and that the operators have to engage in a constant "war with the fire". The fire, the operators themselves said, goes on to burn within their bodies, even at night when they sleep. The exposure to this heat consumes their energy (*shakti*), causes them lack of appetite, fever, and a general feeling of exhaustion (*birokto* or *klanti*). The packers among whom Strümpell worked were similarly convinced of the health hazards the operators face. "Look at them," they never tired of saying, "they might earn more money than us, but of what use is it? They are all feeble and suffer all the time from headaches and fever."

When the foremen were asked how they could sustain themselves for all the years they work in the rolling mills, they answered that what counts is the right way of life and consumption of the right food. To clean the throat from the factory dirt it is important to eat bananas, and in order to cool down the body after working at ovens and rolls, one simply has to eat sufficient other fruits such as apples, oranges, grapes. This is how a rolling mill worker should behave and this is what enabled them to stay in the business for all these years and to be-

come foremen, as the latter themselves claimed. However, the problem is that the young workers operating ovens and rolls do not follow their example, but instead purchase useless things such as mobiles and fancy clothes, and therefore do not have enough money left to eat properly. Even worse, the foremen lamented, many of these workers regularly spend their money on *ganja* (marijuana), or other drugs, or on prostitutes. To the foremen, it is their lifetyle that put the workers' health at risk, strains their energy, and frequently strikes them with ever.

When discussing occupational risks, the operators themselves always elaborated at length on the threat of accidents, of getting hit by one of the red hot rods, getting caught and crushed by the heavy and fast-rotating rolls, or by the large motor driving the rolls. Given the lack of protective wear and security devices, the risks posed by machines and hot steel were obvious and indeed most operators carry minor burns or scars, though none of the workers had ever seen and also rarely heard about serious injuries. Of course, we do not aim to suggest that their worries are beside the point, but only to highlight the diverse risk perceptions co-existing around the rolling mills. We suggest that the different assessments of health risks on the shop floor both relate to the workers' gendered social identity. The operators were also anxious about their exposure to the heat, but talked about it only in a much more muted and less heroic tone. To cope with the heat they take *ganja*, which is thought to cool them down, and they were anxious to regularly consume energy drinks to regain their male energy, exhausted by the heat. Thus, their emphasis on the danger of the machines they handle is to assert their masculinity which the constant exposure to the heat is felt to threaten.

Conclusion and Outlook

Our ethnographies of Dhaka's garment factories and rolling mills reveal that workers in both sites both perceive their work as very hazardous, but for different reasons. However, "stress" does not figure among the risks workers perceive to threaten their health and well-being. This holds true, even though the imbalance between the effort workers are obliged to put into their jobs and the material and social rewards they accrue – an imbalance that is treated as one of the major causes of stress in public health literature (see introduction above) – is rampant among workers in Dhaka, especially among garment workers. This holds at least true for the shop floors where we have so far conducted our research. In order to determine how the assessments of risks, especially those that in the West are currently referred to as "stress", shape the subjectivities of workers in Bangladesh we need to broaden our canvas and take into account several other sites where these subjectivities constitute themselves, such as the urban neighborhood, the biomedical institutions the state and NGOs maintain, and the media.

As we have shown, a "stress" discourse exists in Dhaka, but around the factories it flourishes exclusively among high-level managers. Furthermore, in Bangladesh generally, "stress" is also part of university curricula and a topic of public health research, and it makes frequent appearances in middle-class newspapers, in promotions of biomedical or ayurvedic "anti-stress" medicines, allegedly healthy tonic drinks, advertised "anti-stress" teas, and the various energy drinks that promise to "quickly boost" one's work energy. The latter are widely consumed by the workers in both garment factories and rolling mills to recover from physical and mental weakness, *tension*, pressure (*chap*) or exhaustion (*birokto* and *klanti*), though the concept "stress" has not (yet) entered the assemblages of risks workers invoke. Following Young (1980), this might have profound consequences for the workers' possibilities of "being in the world" and, accordingly, for their political struggles, but this remains to be investigated.

Notes

[1] A "compliance factory" receives direct orders from Western buyers and complies with a so-called buyer's code of conduct including certain "labor standards". Therefore workers in "compliance factories" are thought to be better off than workers in "non-compliance factories".

[2] The word "tension" originating in English, is now very widely used in South Asia. The Bangla word *chaap* means – put pressure upon; insistence or importunities or forcing; a load; a burden; be pressed (Ali et al. 2007: 195).

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The article was first published in the *Viennese Ethnomedicine Newsletter* (Vol. XIII (2+3), 2011) of the Department of Ethnomedicine, Center for Public Health, Medical University of Vienna.

What has Vikram to do with India's population explosion?

The Indo-German project "Shiksha Sankalp – Make Schools Inclusive"

Ekkehard Henschke

Education is a key issue

Vikram[1] used to go to class 1 in the Shri Munshi Premchand Vidya Mandir school which is situated in Pelhar near Mumbai, India. But his mother says he has a learning disability . The boy is a slow learner and is also physically very weak. His younger sister knows much more than he does. When asked to write his name Vikram can't, but he is able to paint a beautiful tree. During the course of his assessment it becomes clear that Vikram has special educational needs, but that he should attend school with the other pupils.

Vikram is only one of the children who has been identified by a big Indo-German project called Shiksha Sankalp – meaning 'Make Schools Inclusive'. It has come into being thanks to the determination of a few Indian educators and therapists. They work in Mumbai, India's "Maximum City", acknowledging the explosion of India's population as well as its fast economic rise, but wanting the numerous handicapped children and adults to participate in the country's progress. "Inclusive education" means no segregation between disabled and abled pupils.

India's population will shortly surpass that of China. Nearly 1,2 of 7 billions of the people on this planet are living in India and this causes a lot of social and political problems. Since under-fifteens make up about 30 percent of India's population, they deserve special attention. Another factor is that 70 percent of Indians still live in the countryside, even though there is constant migration into the cities in the hope of a better life. The economic dynamics of this subcontinent, determined by different cultures, languages, religions and climate zones, are similar to those of China, but the political basis for steering further development in each country - a parliamentary democracy in India and an authoritarian socialist system in China – is very different. How these two countries deal with the education of their young people and with access to education will greatly influence their further economic, social and political development and how they tackle the problem of poverty.[2]

Comprehensive models for education nation-wide are therefore of great importance. In spite of compulsory education, India's illiteracy rate still surpasses 35 %[3]. Given that the data in India's last census[4] is regarded as problematic, it is necessary for any project such as Shiksha Sankalp to being at the micro level and map individual households. Only in this way can the gulf between every child's legal right to education and the reality be perceived. That is exactly what this Indo-German project has been doing in two selected areas since autumn 2010 - in Mumbai, India's economic centre, and in a rural area.- The Indo-German project "Shiksha Sankalp – Make Schools inclusive" is supported by the German Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development but was planned by the Indian charity ADAPT (Able Disabled ALL People Together")[5] and a German charity, Christian Blind Mission (CBM)[6]. ADAPT, successor to The Spastics Society of India, founded by the Indian educational expert Dr. Mithu Alur in 1972, is leading the project.

A question of human rights

After the educational aspects comes an ethical question: How does Indian society, producing a growing number of wealthy people since the liberalization of its economy, deal with its outsiders, i.e. with the poor, the disabled, the people discriminated against by religion or caste? How can it integrate them?

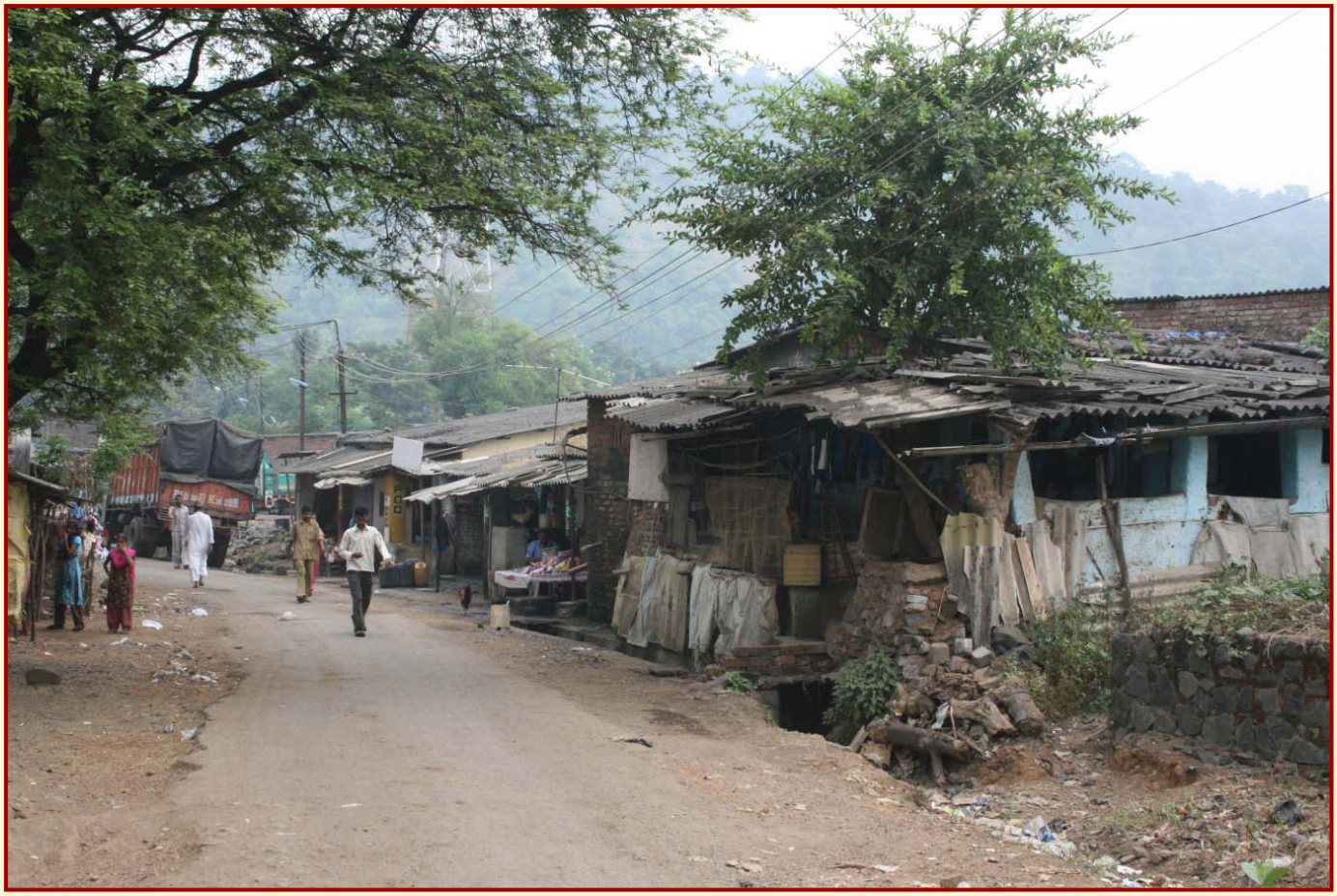
Both organisations, CBM and ADAPT, are very experienced at giving support to handicapped people in developing countries as well as in emerging economies. CBM is more internationally engaged while ADAPT concentrates on Mumbai, the magnet for so many rural and other Indians. ADAPT's schools, its therapy centres, and its philosophy of inclusion are spreading all

over Asia, through its training for teachers and therapists. There are about 20 million[7] inhabitants in Mumbai, with most of them living in the shanty-towns.

Dr Alur's own daughter Malini shows: Much can be achieved by someone with cerebral palsy. She got cerebral palsy at her birth in 1966 and her physical mobility is highly restricted. In Mumbai and in London Malini not only studied for a BA but was awarded two Master's degrees in social science. Her independence finally won her a job as event manager with the Oxford Bookstore in Mumbai and as a journalist. She is very active as the founding chairperson of ADAPT's rights group. When she wrote her autobiography, it meant using one finger 250,000 times on her computer keyboard[8]. Wheelchair-bound but strong-willed and supported by her family, she describes her personal and intellectual journey. Malini is one of many handicapped people who demonstrate that, with intellectual and therapeutic support as well as by raising the awareness of their environment, they are able to live a meaningful life of their own. Shouldn't these chances also be available to children in the shanty-towns and villages? Aren't they of importance for society too?

Shiksha Sankalp: The project

On 30 October 2007 the German chancellor Dr. Angela Merkel visited ADAPT and it was her encouragement for the work of the organisation that led to the project "Shiksha Sankalp – Make Schools Inclusive". It aims to create a service delivery model which will secure educational opportunities for all children, particularly disabled children, and which will be sustainable, scalable and replicable for the whole country. The first step was taken in 2008 when ADAPT, lead by the Mithu Alur Foundation, began to create the model of an inclusive village in Pelhar, in the province of Maharashtra. The aim here is to provide educational and medical services as well as women's empowerment and livelihood programs[9], integrating both sexes, and members of all religions and castes, both abled and disabled.



[1: Life in Pelhar]

[2: Visiting a handicapped boy in Pelhar]

[3: Mobile dispensary van in Pelhar, donated by Goldman Sachs]

The project will take three years and will be carried out in two jurisdictions: In ward A, a shanty-town in Mumbai, and in the rural community of Pelhar, a cluster of 22 villages. Set among small fields, these villages are settlements consisting of huts with earthen floors or of small stone houses with little furniture. The roads are mostly unmade and the villagers hire coloured trucks to transport goods. The author visited a small school with three rooms for about 250 pupils (6 to 14 years) and a half-open pre-school (3 to 5 years) (see photos).

Led by Dr Alur, the director of ADAPT, an expert team with a project director was put together and started work in September 2010. Finding that no reliable statistics existed on the exact number of disabled children out of school, still less of their educational and health needs, the project undertook extensive door to door mapping in the two catchment areas. For the first time in India, the Shiksha Sankalp team, supported by the external agency Indianet, and a number of volunteers undertook a door-to-door census of all children in the age group 6 to 14. The team made several observations in Pelhar. Children had to travel a long way to attend school and sometimes didn't go to school at all, or they got involved in farm work. Teachers often came late or were absent altogether, they behaved carelessly or even beat their pupils. In addition, the classrooms were cramped or/and looked dingy. The key finding was that most disabled children either dropped out of school or had never gone to school because the schools had no disabled access or there was no transport. Well-off parents preferred to enroll their children in private schools.

Prior to the mapping, lots of methodological questions had to be solved and those conducting the interviews had to be trained. The result was that 2,749 households were visited in Pelhar between November 2010 and July 2011 to establish who the handicapped children and adults were. In March 2011 the medical screening was first piloted, followed by the primary and secondary screening. Two senior members of CBM attended the inauguration. Each person's individual medical assessment was mostly carried out in a special van donated by Goldman Sachs, though sometimes the team went to the families. The Shiksha Sankalp team was supported by volunteers from some local hospitals and other organisations and story tellers helped to make the villagers and their children aware of what was going on. The handicapped children were photographed and a standard form was completed. Still, some parents tried to avoid having their handicapped children assessed. Unfortunately medical treatment could not be offered in Pelhar. By July 2011 the screening team has discovered 203 handicapped children and adults. This number increased to 205 after the assessments of mobility, hearing, sight, and speech.

By October 2011 22,145 households in ward A, a shanty-town in Mumbai Colaba, had been mapped. This community is rather small compared to Dharavi, Mumbai's biggest shanty town, inhabited by about 1 million people. It had the usual modest huts, narrow and winding lanes, and primitive toilets. People fetch clean water in their plastic cans between 12 noon and 2.00 pm. There are small workshops, food shops and at least one pharmacy. Ward A also contains an extensive open air laundry where several dozen inhabitants work. The author could observe how all the activity of the so-called screening camp virtually came to a halt when people had to go and fetch water. However, in this urban community people seemed to have better social cohesion than in rural Pelhar. Concerned people brought their handicapped neighbours to the camp, who in the countryside would presumably have stayed hidden.

The screening took place in half-open rooms. Children and adults were first registered and photographed and then their mobility was assessed. This was followed by a general medical assessment and by sight, hearing and speech tests. If necessary medicine was handed out. A private eye hospital was also taking part and they were carrying out cataract operations free of charge. The Shiksha Sankalp team was supported by experts from ADAPT, from some hospitals and by lots of volunteers from the community.

[4: Pre-school in Pelhar]

[5: Three schoolrooms for 250 pupils in Pelhar]

[6: Sweeping the school courtyard in Pelhar]

[7: Homework in ward A (Mumbai Colaba); water supply between 12.00 noon and 2.00 pm]

[8: Screening in ward A: Registration]

[9: Screening in ward A: General medical assessment]

[10: Screening in ward A: Sight and hearing assessment]

[11: Screening in ward A: Speech assessment]

[12: Screening in ward A: Dr Mithu Alur (in white trousers) and her team]

[13: Screening certificate, which entitles the holder to benefits for the handicapped]

Some conclusions

Though the final validation of the mapping and screening has not yet been carried out[10] and the intervention phase has not started, some conclusions are possible: the project provides good insights not only into the deficiencies in educational and medical care but also into the social reality of a rural and an urban settlement in India. The team experienced the social situation of parents with handicapped children. Besides the practical problems of attending school in the country side, the team noticed that the teachers often were not able to meet the needs of their handicapped pupils. This insight led to increased activity on the part of ADAPT's human rights group headed by Malini Chib and by Dr. Anita Prabhu Kinnerkar. Two young German librarians Dana Soete and Jana Votteler working for ADAPT's special library have already started work on a small community library for children and adults in ward A. The ongoing work of Shiksha Sankalp's team and volunteers, who work round the clock seven days a week, is beyond praise.

The general goals of the Indo-German project Shiksha Sankalp must be given worldwide attention: Take handicapped children out of isolation, bring them into school together with non-handicapped pupils and give them, as well as the handicapped adults, the treatment they need. This will also help to combat India's excessive illiteracy rate. At the halfway point, it is not possible to say what the final model of "Shiksha Sankalp – Make Schools Inclusive" will look like in 2013. We will, however, certainly get more information when the next North-South-Dialogue takes place in Goa under the leadership of Mithu Alur from 19 to 23 February 2012)[11].

[1] His name has been changed to protect his identity.

[2] In 2004/2005 about 42 % of India's rural and about 26 % of its urban population fell below the poverty line; see the statistics of the World Bank: http://www.worldbank.org.in/WBSITE/EXTERNAL/COUNTRIES/SOUTHASIAEXT/INDIAEXTN/0,,contentMDK:20195738~pagePK:141137~piPK:141127~theSitePK:295584,00.html

[3] In 2006 only 63 % of those aged over 15 were able to write and read. There are great differences of literacy rfates between the Indian states; see The World Bank: http://data.worldbank.org/country/india; http://www.indiaonlinepages.com/population/literacy-rate-in-india.html

[4] Census of India 2001. Population Projections for India and States 2001-2026 (Revised December 2006); http://nrhm-mis.nic.in/UI/Public%20Periodic/Population_Projection_Report_2006.pdf

[5] See: http://www.adaptssi.org

[6] See: http://www.cbm.org

[7] In 2001 nearly 55 % of Mumbai's population was living in Slum areas; today there may be nearly 90 %; see: http://www.indiaonlinepages.com/population/slum-population-in-india.html; http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Growth_of_Mumbai

[8] Malini Chib, One Little Finger. Los Angeles, London, New Delhi 2011 (see p. 193).

[9] See http://www.adaptssi.org/shikshasankalp.html

[10] See ADAPT's newsletters: http://www.adaptssi.org/shikshasankalp.html

[11] See http://www.adaptssi.org/nsd/index.htm

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Summer School "Cultures of Consumption in Asia and Europe"

Cluster of Excellence "Asia and Europe in a Global Context" at Heidelberg University July 24 to 29, 2011

"Cultures of Consumption in Asia and Europe" was the title and topic of the summer school organised by the Cluster of Excellence "Asia and Europe in a Global Context" at Heidelberg University from 24 to 29 July 2011. The summer school included over 20 students from a dozen countries, who enjoyed lectures and discussions headed by scholars from a range of disciplinary backgrounds, including cultural and economic history, the social sciences and anthropology. The aim of the four-day programme was to gain a transcultural understanding of cultures of consumption and to explore the ways in which consumer goods and cultural frameworks of consumption have provided crucial interfaces of entanglement between Asia and Europe in a global context.

The opening keynote lecture "Why America Spends While the World Saves" was held by Prof. Sheldon Garon (Princeton University). He focused on the histories of saving, consumption, and credit in the U. S., modern Europe, Japan, and other Asian nations. He pointed out the differences and similarities of mass consumption and saving between Europe and Japan on the one and the U.S. on the other hand. Adopting a transnational-historical perspective, he argued that the similarities in savings-promotion across the globe resulted from international exchanges of knowledge on how to organise prosperous, powerful nations.

In the session "Introducing Novelty Consumables", Prof. Francoise Sabban (Paris) gave a talk titled "A New Consumption Pattern – Drinking Milk in Shanghai (1845-1945)". By tracing the consumption of milk in Shanghai from the nineteenth century onwards, she explored the origins of contemporary food practices in China. Before, milk only played a role as a nutritional supplement for the fragile and sick but was never produced on a large scale. In the late nineteenth century, the production of cow's milk was imported into the foreign settlements of big cities, such as Shanghai, mainly for the consumption by foreigners. Over the time, it became a popular product and was consumed mostly by wealthy Chinese people.

In the following lecture, Prof. Anjali Roy (IIT Kharagpur) asked the question "Why is Bollywood Making a Song and Dance about Bhangra?". She explained how Bhangra, a traditional Punjabi harvest rite, became removed from its original cultural context and transformed into national dance music, becoming an important part of modern Bollywood cinema. For Anjali Roy, the contemporary Bollywood film is a metaphor for a globalised India characterised by the ethic of consumption as well as for the image of a new India, selling itself to an American consumerism.

The morning session of the second day "Gender Images and Consumption" was opened by Dr. Mio Wakita (Heidelberg). In her talk "The Locus of Multiple Desires: Women in Yokohama Souvenir Photography", she investigated images of Japanese women in post-1880 Meiji souvenir photography. She focused on the social and cultural statuses of female models, the mediality of photography and female visibility. She examined earlier views of women's statuses in these photographs as commercial products, consumed by western males which cater only to the western expectation of and desires for "exotic" Japanese things. In addition, she embedded these images in the context of Japanese visual culture and looked into the making of images of Japanese femininity in Meiji souvenir photography.

Under the title "The Future of a Modern Woman or Man? Gender Images in German Tobacco Advertisements", Prof. Katja Patzel-Mattern (Heidelberg) examined the construction of gender images in German tobacco advertisements, especially during the decades between the 1920s and 1930s and the 1950s and 1980s. She stated that the generations of meanings

transported by these images are highly conditioned by the media but give at the same time a deep insight into the historical context of Germany during these periods.

"Global Patterns of Consumption" was the topic of the next session. Jun.-Prof. Joanna Elfving-Hwang (Frankfurt) gave a talk on "Cosmetic Culture and the Practice of Aesthetic Surgery in South Korea". She addressed meanings and practices of cosmetic surgery in South Korea and showed how decisions to undergo aesthetic surgery are influenced by a number of different, sometimes contradictory, and often intersecting factors, which are implicated in both the prevalence of surgery and the types of surgeries practiced.

Moving beyond a traditional focus, that the process of socio-economic integration in the Pacific Ocean during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries was driven by Western European nations and the United States, Robert Hellyer (PhD, Wake Forrest) presented an alternative view on trade and demand in this area. In his talk "The West, the East and the Insular Middle: Consumption and the Integration of the Pacific, 1750-1880", he traced the influence of reciprocal consumer demands with a focus on forest and marine products.

The session "Contemporary Shifts in Consumption" was opened by Manpreet Janeja (PhD, Cambridge) with a talk on "Eating and Not-Eating in South-Asia (and Beyond)". She focused on consumption as a mundane practice as explored through social anthropological accounts of food and eating in South Asia and beyond. She linked issues of agency, place, hospitality, and ownership to a new field that places food as an "artefact" at the centre of its inquiry, using Bengali, Hindu, and Muslim eating habits in India (Calcutta) and Bangladesh (Dhaka) and school meals in Britain as examples.

Next, Prof. Seungsook Moon (Vassar) spoke on "Consumer Culture and Changing Attitudes Toward Hegemonic Masculinity in South Korea". She explored the interplay between experiences of mandatory military service and consumer culture in shaping the masculinity of South Korean men. The focus was laid on men in their 20s, who have grown up in industrialising and democratising Korea because this group has developed ideas and practices of masculinity which are significantly different from those of former generations.

In the last session, "Reflecting on Japanese Consumer Culture", Angus Lockyer (PhD, SOAS, London) talked about "Golf Clubbing in Modern Japan". He raised questions about how we do and how we might think about and study consumption. Along with these questions, he pointed out some potential avenues in which one might find stories of consumption that can account not only for the imagined consumers of Europe but the consuming practitioners of Asia as well.

By following the "Flow of Beer to East Asia", Prof. Harald Fuess (Heidelberg) explained how German beer found its way to Japan and became one of the world's most popular beers during the last century. In this process, he argued, imports and foreign-owned companies were gradually replaced, a highly concentrated market structure for beer emerged, a mass market for beer consumption with a high social tolerance for drinking alcoholic beverages was created, and beer markets were enlarged through the inclusion of previously ignored consumer groups, such as women.

The last day of the summer school was reserved for various group activities, organised by Anna Andreeva (PhD), David Mervart (PhD) and Dr. Mio Wakita (Heidelberg), to summarize interactively the findings of the previous days. Consumption and consumerism were discussed, focusing on the tension between conceptualisation, cultural settings, agency, meaning, transformation, actual forces and concrete case-studies, as well as on their moral, psychological, political and economic vocabularies and languages.

The summer school, organised by Prof. Harald Fuess and David Mervart (PhD), received very positive feedback from the participants. Many were very enthusiastic about the variety of topics discussed. The evening programme, which included a guided tour through the old town of Heidelberg and a visit to the German Packaging Museum, was also very much appre-

ciated. These informal excursions provided excellent settings for further social exchanges between the participants. The next summer school of the Cluster of Excellence "Asia and Europe in a Global Context" will be held in July 2012.

Text by Tine Trumpp, Heidelberg University, e-mail: tinetrumpp@googlemail.com

Programme:

Session I – Welcome and Keynote Speech

Rudolf Wagner, David Mervart (Heidelberg)

Sheldon Garon (Princeton): Keynote: "Why America Spends While the World Saves?"

Session II – Introducing Novelty Consumables

Francoise Sabban (EHESS Paris): "A New Consumption Pattern - Drinking Milk in Shanghai (1845-1945)"

Anjali Roy (IIT Kharagpur): "Nach Balliye – Why is Bollywood Making a Song and Dance about Bhangra?"

Session III – Gender Images and Consumption

Mio Wakita (Heidelberg): "The Locus of Multiple Desires: Women in Yokohama Souvenir Photography"

Katja Patzel-Mattern (Heidelberg): "The Future of a Modern Woman or Man? Gender Images in German Tobacco Advertisements"

Session IV – Global Patterns of Consumption

Joanna Elfving-Hwang (Frankfurt): "Cosmetic Cultures and the Practice of Aesthetic Surgery in South Korea"

Robert Hellyer (Wake Forrest): "The West, the East and the Insular Middle: Consumption and the Integration of the Pacific, 1750-1880"

Session V – Contemporary Shifts in Consumption

Manpreet Janeja (Cambridge): "Eating and Not-Eating in South-Asia (and Beyond)"

Seungsook Moon (Vassar): "Disciplinary Habitus and Consumer Culture: Masculinities and Korean Men in their 20s"

Session VI – Reflecting on Japanese Consumer Culture

Angus Lockyer (SOAS, London): "Golf Clubbing in Modern Japan"

Harald Fuess (Heidelberg): "Flow of Beer to East Asia"

Session VII/VIII - Group Work

Anna Andreeva, David Mervart, Mio Wakita, Björn-Ole Kamm (Heidelberg), Ana Goy-Yamamoto (Madrid): "Pandora's Box - The Future of Consumption"

"Frontiers of Knowledge – Health, Environment and the History of Science"

2011 Annual Conference of the Cluster of Excellence "Asia and Europe in a Global Context" at Heidelberg University

"Frontiers of Knowledge" was the topic of the 2011 Annual Conference of the Cluster of Excellence "Asia and Europe in a Global Context" held from October 5th to 7th, 2011 at Heidelberg University. The purpose of the conference was to explore the fields of Health, Environment and the History of Science, while challenging the conventional intellectual divisions between Europe and Asia.

Keynote Speaker Kaushik Sunder Rajan

In the evening of October 5th, the first keynote speaker, Kaushik Sunder Rajan (Chicago), gave a lecture on "Property, Rights and the Constitution of Contemporary Indian Biomedicine" marking the opening of the conference. He focused on the contested relationship between intellectual property and the re-institutionalisation of pharmaceutical development in contemporary India. In addition he traced the development of a case of a patent on the anti-cancer drug Gleevec.

The first podium discussion, chaired by Joachim Friedrich Quack (Heidelberg), took place in the morning of October 6th, 2011, which focused on Ancient Medicine. Friedhelm Hoffmann's (Munich) exploration of Egyptian medical receipts, dating from the second and early first millennia BCE and their relationship to Near-Eastern and Greek medical traditions, demonstrated that some basic prescription formulae appear in all otherwise divergent medical systems. Examining medical stories, medicinal recipes, and amulets from the Hippocratic and Galenic traditions, Ann Ellis Hanson (Yale) showed how earlier medical concepts from Hippocratic texts were appropriated and amended to fit into later medical writings in the Roman and Byzantine Egypt traditions. Continuing the theme of transmission, Vivian Nutton (University College London) drew attention to issues of translating medical texts and traditions with a focus on the re-contextualisation of Galenic medical writings into the Syriac and Arabic languages.


Auditorium Keynote Lecture

The second podium discussion was dedicated to the circulation and changing concepts of knowledge, the diverse ways in which knowledge is produced, and how it is shared and appropriated in cultural encounters. Marta Hanson's (Johns Hopkins University) analysis of the geography of diseases in China from the 1870s to the 1920s clearly showed that certain concepts of knowledge can be visualised and circulated. On the one hand, they help rethink the relationships between the nature of disease and the environmental context. On the other hand, they also act as political images legitimating colonial control. Dissecting the processes of the rapid institutionalisation of science in colonial India, Dhruv Raina (Jawaharlal Nehru University) employed the interpretive frames of "engraftment" and "entanglement" to investigate the varied uses of traditional and modern resources of knowledge in learned communities. Likewise, challenging the standard dichotomies between tradition and modernity, as well as East as opposed to West, Joachim Kurtz (Heidelberg) explored the processes of searching for a new epistemological framework in Late Qing China. He presented a case study that focused on the attempts of Chinese philosophers to identify new sources of certainty in the face of the

epistemic ruptures, which, he argued, continue to shape what we now understand as Chinese modernity.

The afternoon session was divided into five separate panels. The focus of the panel on "Politics, Civil Society and the Environment" was the earthquake and subsequent nuclear disaster in north-eastern Japan on March 3rd, 2011. Itō Kimio (Kyoto) offered a critical perspective on the issues that civil society in Japan is currently facing in the wake of the Fukushima nuclear plant crisis, as well as matters pertaining to the government, media, and nuclear lobby. Focusing on the micro-history of the town of Kaminoseki in Yamaguchi prefecture, Martin Dusinberre (Newcastle/Heidelberg) demonstrated how nuclear politics at the local level came to be dominated by the rhetoric of a "brighter future" in post-war Japan. In contrast to this historical approach, Kerstin Cuhls (Heidelberg) offered an overview of how governmental research organisations in Germany and Japan provide predictions on future trends in societal change. Further they mapped out possible preventive measures and responses to earthquakes. Following the three papers, Gerrit Jasper Schenk (Darmstadt) discussed how such disasters can be properly assessed and analysed in the context of cultural histories.

Panel Session

The panel "Between Beauty and Health" focused on the visual itineraries of changing bodies in China's transcultural mediascapes during the 1900s and 2000s. The speakers Liying Sun, Ulrike Buechsel, Xuelei Huang and Barbara Mittler (Heidelberg) illustrated how the changing notions of beauty and health are reflected in the visual sources of twentieth-century Chinese media, such as pictorials, films, propaganda posters, and advertisements. The presentations addressed issues of healthy bodies in relation to mediatisation, ideology, consumer culture, transculturality, and gender relations. These notions were further problematised by the discussants Christiane Brosius, Thomas Maissen, and Katja Patzel-Mattern (Heidelberg), who questioned the concepts of cosmopolitanism and liberation, Baudrillard's analysis of consumer culture, definitions of health, as well as media representations of disability and homosexuals from Indian and European perspectives.

The panel "Large Dams", moderated by Thomas Lennartz (Heidelberg), examined cases of contested environmental knowledge of riverscapes, focusing on the issues of dealing with water flows in India and China. Ravi Baghel (Heidelberg) described how rivers in India are seen as national entities and supplies of water are to be equally distributed all over the country. Alexander Erlewein (Heidelberg) discussed the changing perceptions of dams and how, in the context of climate change, they became re-evaluated as sources of renewable energy. Miriam Seeger (Heidelberg) explored how competing discursive factions include governmental narratives and exclude perspectives that take into account the interpretation and establishment of environmental knowledge in the contested field involving the Nujiang dams in Southwest China. Continuing this theme, Nirmalya Choudhury (TU Berlin) analysed how public involvement in the planning of large infrastructural projects becomes a slippery ground, where a mismatch of expectations on substantial outcomes reduces the legitimacy of the exercise, even if the legality of the exercise is fulfilled. The final panel discussion included a variety of topics revolving around the question how knowledge is integrated, changed, and domesticated in different socio-political contexts. Particular attention was paid to the socio-cultural impact of dams on local religious practices and the political impact of dam building on international relations.

Another afternoon panel, this time with a focus on Japanese religions, traced the concepts of space and time in the emerging transcultural cosmologies of pre-modern Japan. Dominic Steavu (Heidelberg) investigated how Chinese cosmological discourses on the human body were re-appropriated and re-contextualised in Buddhist iatromanic rituals. Anna Andreeva (Heidelberg) analysed how mountains were conceptualised as cultic centres in the ritual activities of ascetics, engaged in mapping out a sacred geography of medieval Japan. Finally,

Max Moerman (Barnard/Columbia) demonstrated how Buddhist notions of space shaped early modern debates on astronomy and political geography in Tokugawa, Japan.

"What Can(not) Be Said in Revolutionary Times" was in many ways a panel that followed up on key themes from previous Cluster annual conferences, devoted to the flows of concepts and institutions in a transcultural context. The conversation focused on the borders of and obstacles to the aforementioned flows, as well as their relations to shifts in the meaning of concepts, such as despotism, democracy and, citizenship. In this context, Pascal Firges (Heidelberg) discussed Istanbul during the French Revolution, while Birte Hermann (Heidelberg) considered the Tian'anmen Square incident of 1989, and Julten Abdelhaim (Heidelberg) reflected on the events of 2011's Arab Spring in Egypt. In her summary of the presentations, Antje Flüchter (Heidelberg) pointed out that notions pertaining to revolutionary ideology have become globalised to such a degree that comparisons to "authentic" European or Western predecessors have little relevance. Consequently, traditional analytical frameworks require a transcultural or epoch-spanning extension "beyond traditional affiliation of citizenship".


Keynote Speaker Janet Hunter

The day concluded with the second keynote lecture by Janet Hunter (London School of Economics), who spoke about the market collapse and confusion that occurred in the aftermath of the Great Kantō Earthquake of 1923. The lecture paid close attention to the responses of producers, traders, and consumers to the sudden collapse of infrastructure, dislocation of institutions, and altered patterns of supply and demand.

The third day of the conference opened with a podium discussion on "Seascapes and Shipping" chaired by Harald Fuess (Heidelberg) and discussed by Christopher Gerteis (SOAS). In his second conference presentation, Martin Dusinberre (Newcastle/Heidelberg) traced the maritime routes of a Japanese merchant navy ship, the "Yamashiro-maru", from Newcastle to Hawaii between 1884 and 1912. Roland Wenzlhuemer (Heidelberg) offered insight into the redaction of ship newspapers and, more generally, life aboard the passenger steamers in the 1890s. His paper investigated transcultural phenomena in transit, unfolding within port cities or across ocean littorals and other liminal zones. Rolf Wippich (Tokyo/Lucerne) scrutinised 19th century piracy in Chinese territorial waters and the anti-piracy measures taken both by the Chinese authorities and the western treaty powers in the context of flourishing international trade, the Taiping Rebellion (1852-1864) and the Opium Wars.

The second podium discussion of the day was organised by Cluster scholars Sandra Bärnreuther, Sinjini Mukherjee, and William Sax. It critically engaged with Kaushik Sunder Rajan's work on the attribution of epistemic shifts to different "techno-scientific regimes" and bio-capital. The sociologist-cum-anthropologist Aditya Bharadwaj (Edinburgh) presented findings from a long-term multi-sited ethnographic study and examined the notion of "subject mobility" in pursuit of the clinical application of human embryonic stem cells (HESC) in India. This theme was complemented by Sandra Bärnreuther's (Heidelberg) introduction of her ongoing study on in-vitro-fertilisation in India, emphasising the multi-dimensional notion of "biovalue". Tsjalling Swierstra (Maastricht) examined the Dutch debate on organ transplants, outlining how new technologies shape old moralities and produce new moral frameworks, as well as how moralities influence technological developments.

The afternoon was divided into four sessions. The first, chaired by William Sax (Heidelberg), continued the earlier podium discussion on travelling technologies and shifting transculturality. Sinjini Mukherjee (Heidelberg) focused on the case of family members donating organs for kidney transplants in India. She analysed the ways in which the transplant process is gendered and the problematic assessment of "intangible willingness" of possible candidates as "informed consent". The discussant Kaushik Sunder Rajan presented an elaborate response to all the papers highlighting the differences between the approaches of Moral Philosophy, Medical Anthropology, and Science and Technology Studies.

The panel "The Many Shapes of the World" discussed concurrent regimes of spatial representation in early modern Asia. In their paper "Chinese Sages and Dutch Measures", Martin Hoffmann and David Mervart (Heidelberg) addressed the diversity of spatial regimes in the writings and maps of the Japanese samurai-scholar Nagakubo Sekisui (1717-1801), approaching them from the perspective of the Chinese map-making and early modern Japanese political geography. Monica Juneja (Heidelberg) explored what she called "capricious reversals" of naturalist vision, by looking at pastiche as an art form in early modern Europe and Asia. The panel was chaired by Frank Grüner (Heidelberg) and commented by Dhruv Raina.

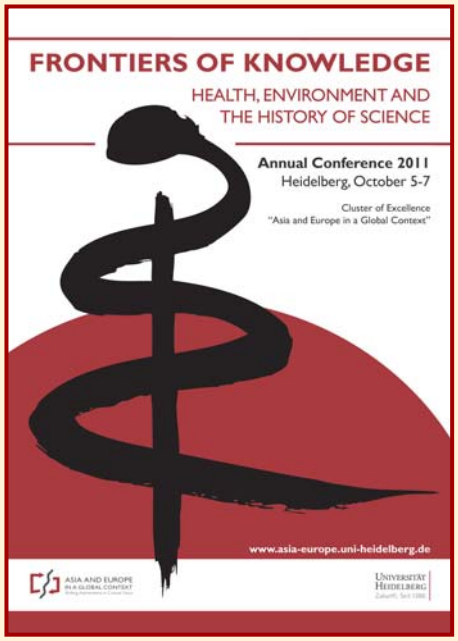
Panel Session

The panel succinctly titled "Stress" focused on the anthropological, historical and epidemiological approaches to this supposedly modern phenomenon. Saskia Rohmer (Heidelberg) offered insight into the historical roots of stress as a concept first appearing in Western scientific discourse. Reporting on the results of his research, Hasan Ashraf (Heidelberg) examined the genesis of stress as an effect the neoliberal textile production regime had on the health of garment factory workers in Bangladesh, as well as the global roots and socio-cultural implications of this phenomenon. Maria Steinisch (Heidelberg) presented the status of a new study that considers stress in the ready-made garment industry in Bangladesh from an epidemiological perspective. Finally, Adrian Loerbroks (Heidelberg) presented a different kind of epidemiological data, this time on the variability of the association between stress/mental health and respiratory diseases (asthma and COPD) in Europe and Asia.

The last panel of the conference, "Asymmetrical Translations", focused on the mind and body in Indian and Western Medicine. William Sax opened this panel with an analysis of the activities of Ayurvedic doctors in the Malappuram district of Kerala by employing the conceptual framework of Bruno Latour, pertaining to the categories of "pre-modern", "non-modern", "modernizing" and "hybridity". Johannes Quack (Heidelberg) presented two case studies from his ethnographic study of mental health care in India. The final day of the annual conference closed with a presentation by Ananda Samir Chopra (Heidelberg), who examined translations and asymmetries in Ayurvedic nosologies and biomedicine. The three papers offered rich perspectives on the conceptual diversity of the Cluster project C3 on "Asymmetrical Translations" in the conceptualisations and practices of European and Indian medicine.

Bringing together scholars from all over the world, the Annual Conference "Frontiers of Knowledge" furthered international exchange on health-related, environmental issues, as well as on the history of science. In addition to historical issues, such as reassessments of Ancient Medicine in Asian and European contexts, the conference also traced the development of health- and environment-related conceptions of knowledge across time. In this respect, the conference highlighted both Asian and European perspectives on, for instance, large environmental projects and their political or social implications. Moreover, talks and discussions on the transcultural aspects of medical technologies raised controversial contemporary issues, such as stem cell research, in-vitro fertilisation, and their impact on modern globalised societies. The 2011 Annual Conference "Frontiers of Knowledge", chaired by Harald Fuess, was organised by Research Area C "Health and Environment" of the Cluster of Excellence "Asia and Europe in a Global Context" (www.asia-europe.uni-heidelberg.de). The Cluster's next Annual Conference will take place in October 2012.

Text: Anna Andreeva, Johannes Quack, Dominic Steavu



Programme

Wednesday, 5 October 2011

Welcome by Axel Michaels and Harald Fuess

Keynote Lecture I

Kaushik Sunder Rajan (Chicago): "Property, Rights, and the Constitution of Contemporary Indian Biomedicine: Notes from the Gleevec Case"

Thursday, 6 October 2011

All day: Heidelberg Research Architecture (HRA) Poster-Presentation

Podium Discussion I – Ancient Medicine

Chair: Joachim Friedrich Quack (Heidelberg)
Friedhelm Hoffman (Munich): "Egyptian Medicine"
Ann Ellis Hanson (Yale): "Medical Stories, Medicinal Recipes, & Amulets from the Hippocratics to Galen"
Vivian Nutton (London): "The Tyranny of the Text: Greek Medicine into Arabic"

Podium Discussion II - Circulation and Changing of Conceptions of Knowledge

Chair: Dominic Steavu (Heidelberg)
Marta Hanson (Baltimore): "Visualizing the Geography of Diseases in China, 1870s-1920s"
Dhruv Raina (Delhi): "Knowledge 'Engrafted', Concepts 'Entangled': Departures from Conceptions of Radical Break and Discontinuity in Histories of the Sciences"
Joachim Kurtz (Heidelberg): "Relocating Certainty in Late Qing China: Philosophy, Science, and the Call for a New Epistemology"

Panel Session I: Politics, Civil Society and the Environment

Chair: Harald Fuess (Heidelberg), Discussant: Gerrit Schenk (Darmstadt)
Martin Dusinberre (Newcastle/Heidelberg): "Hoping for a Brighter Future: Nuclear Politics at the Local Level in Postwar Japan"
Ito Kimio (Kyoto): "The Fukushima Daiichi Case from the Viewpoint of Political and Cultural Sociology"
Kerstin Cuhls (Heidelberg): "National Foresight Activities revisited: Assumptions about Earthquake Prediction"

Between Beauty and Health: Visual Itineraries of Changing Bodies in China's Transcultural Mediascapes (1900s-2000s)

Chair: Barbara Mittler (Heidelberg), Discussants: Christiane Brosius, Thomas Maissen, Katja Patzel-Mattern (Heidelberg)
Liying Sun (Heidelberg): "Nationalism, Athleticism, Phryneism and Transculturality: Changing Notions and Visual Representations of 'Healthy Bodies' in Chinese Pictorials (1900s-1940s)"
Ulrike Büchsel (Heidelberg): "Markers of Modernity: Healthy and Sexualized Bodies in Chinese Advertising (1920s-1930s)"
Xuelei Huang (Heidelberg): "Ideologies of the Leg: Women's Legs and Changing Prototypes of the Ideal Woman on China's Silver Screen (1920s-1970s)"
Barbara Mittler (Heidelberg): "From Small Feet to Large Hands and beyond: Propagating Beautiful and Healthy Bodies in China's long 20th century"
Christiane Brosius (Heidelberg): Between Health and Beauty: An Indian Perspective

Thomas Maissen, Katja Patzel-Mattern (Heidelberg): Between Health and Beauty: A European Perspective

Panel Session II: Large Dams: Contested Environmental Knowledge of Riverscapes
Discussant: Thomas Lennartz (Heidelberg)
Ravi Baghel (Heidelberg): "Water flowing Waste to the Sea: Tracing a Genealogy of the Technocratic Understanding of Rivers in India"
Alexander Erlewein (Heidelberg): "The Re-evaluation of Dams in the Context of Climate Change: Debates, Policies, Consequences"
Miriam Seeger (Heidelberg): "The Nujiang Dams: A Contested Intellectual Frontier"
Nirmalya Choudhury (TU Berlin): "Legality and Legitimacy of Public Involvement in Infrastructure Planning: Observations from Hydropower Projects in India"

Across Time and Space: The Transcultural Cosmologies of Japanese Religions
Chair: Joachim Kurtz (Heidelberg)
Dominic Steavu (Heidelberg): "Cosmologizing the Self: Chinese Iatromancic Technologies in Japanese Buddhist sources"
Anna Andreeva (Heidelberg): "Mapping out the Cultic Mountains of Premodern Japan: The Case of Mt Asama"
D. Max Moerman (Barnard/Columbia): "Vasubhandu versus Copernicus: Japanese Buddhist Cosmology and the History of Science"

What can(not) be said in revolutionary times: Shifting universal concepts in transnational contexts
Chair: Antje Flüchter (Heidelberg)
Pascal Firges (Heidelberg): "France 1796: Is the Ottoman Empire a Constitutional or a Despotic state?"
Birte Herrmann (Heidelberg): "Tian'anmen Square 1989: What is 'Democracy'?"
Julten Abdelhalim (Heidelberg): "Egypt 2011: Can Subjects become Citizens?"

Keynote Lecture II
Janet Hunter (London School of Economics): "The Markets have Collapsed into Complete Confusion: Market Operation after the Great Kantō Earthquake of September 1923"

Friday, 7 October 2011

All day: Heidelberg Research Architecture (HRA) Poster-Presentation

Podium Discussion III – Seascapes and Shipping
Chair: Harald Fuess (Heidelberg), Discussant: Christopher Gerteis (London, SOAS)
Martin Dusinberre (Newcastle/Heidelberg): "From Newcastle to New Nation: Japan, the World, and a Ship, 1884-1912"
Roland Wenzlhuemer (Heidelberg): "In Transit: Ship Newspapers and Life aboard Passenger Steamers, c. 1890"
Rolf Wippich (Tokyo/Lucerne): "19th Century Piracy and Anti-Piracy Measures in Chinese Waters"

Podium Discussion IV - Travelling Technologies, Tracing Transculturality: Paradigm Shifts in Science, Medicine and Society
Chair: William Sax (Heidelberg), Discussant: Kaushik Sunder Rajan (Chicago)
Aditya Bharadwaj (Edinburgh): "Mobile Subjects, Immobile Technologies: Transnational Travel for Human Embryonic Stem Cells in India"
Sandra Bärnreuther (Heidelberg): "Biovalue: The Case of IVF in India"

Panel Session III: Travelling Technologies, Tracing Transculturality: Paradigm Shifts in Science, Medicine and Society (part two)
Chair: William Sax (Heidelberg), Discussant: Kaushik Sunder Rajan (Chicago)
Sinjini Mukherjee (Heidelberg): "New Technologies, Normative Ideals: Kidney Transplantation and Kins as Organ Donors in India"
Tsjalling Swierstra (Maastricht): "Forging a Fit Between Technology and Morality: The Dutch Debate on Organ Transplants and New Reproductive Technologies"

The Many Shapes of the World: Concurrent Regimes of Spatial Representation in Early Modern Asia
Chair: Frank Grüner (Heidelberg), Discussant: Dhruv Raina (Delhi)
Monica Juneja (Heidelberg): "The 'Capricious Reversals' of Naturalist Vision - Pastiche as Art in Early Modern Eurasia"
Martin Hofmann and David Mervart (Heidelberg): "Chinese Sages and Dutch Measures — The Diverse Spatial Regimes of Nagakubo Sekisui (1717-1801)"

Panel Session IV: "Stress": Anthropological, Historical and Epidemiological Approaches to a "Modern" Phenomenon
Chair: Adrian Loerbroks (Heidelberg)
Hasan Ashraf (Heidelberg): "'Exporting Garments, Importing Stress': The Effects of the Neoliberal Textile Production Regime on the Garment Workers' Health in Bangladesh"
Saskia Rohmer (Heidelberg): "Stress: The History of a Western Concept"
Maria Steinisch and Adrian Loerbroks (Heidelberg): "Stress and Mental Health in Asia: Perspectives from Public Health"

Asymmetrical Translations: Mind and Body in Indian and Western Medicine
Chair: William Sax (Heidelberg)
William Sax (Heidelberg): "Healing Mind and Body in Kerala"
Johannes Quack (Heidelberg): "Asymmetrical Translation of Psychiatry in India"
Ananda Samir Chopra (Heidelberg): "Ayurvedic Nosologies and Biomedicine – Translations and Asymmetries"

About the conference organisers:
The 2011 Annual Conference "Frontiers of Knowledge", chaired by Harald Fuess, was organised by Research Area C "Health and Environment" of the Cluster of Excellence "Asia and Europe in a Global Context".

Research Area C "Health and Environment" is one of four research areas at the Cluster. It focuses on the transfer of practices concerning institutions for, ideas about, and perceptions of health and environment between Asia and Europe.

Harald Fuess, PhD, (fuess@asia-europe.uni-heidelberg.de) is Speaker of Research Area C "Health and Environment" and Professor for "Cultural Economic History" at the Cluster of Excellence "Asia and Europe in a Global Context".

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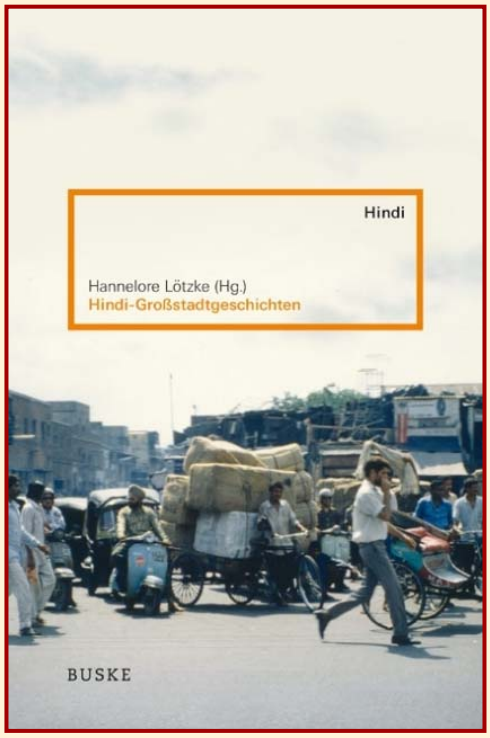
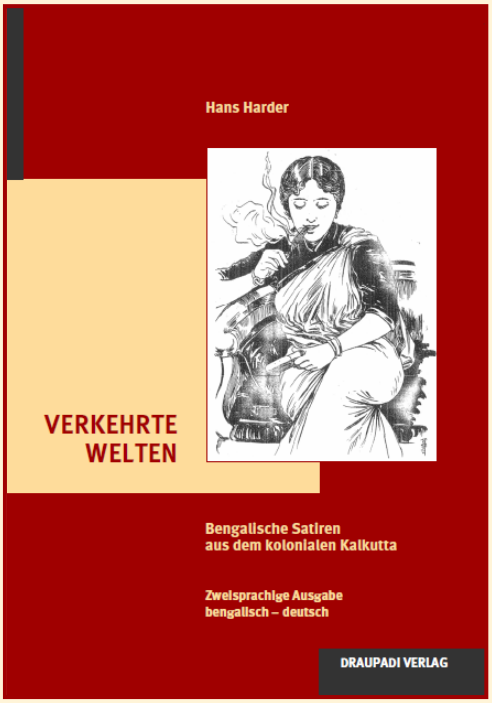


Hannelore Lötzke [Hrsg.]
Hindi-Großstadtgeschichten
Hamburg: Buske, 2011. - 106 S. : Ill. & CD

ISBN:978-3-87548-611-7
SAI-Signatur: nsp 8.12 C 2011/5748

Eine interessante Publikation aus dem Helmut Buske Verlag erreichte uns diesen Winter mit dem Band „Hindi-Großstadtgeschichten". Wie man aus dem Titel dieser Veröffentlichung zuerst schließen mag, handelt es sich hierbei nicht um eine weitere, reine Anthologie von Hindi-Kurzgeschichten, sondern um eine zweisprachige Textedition, die speziell für Studierende des Hindi konzipiert wurde. In dem Band finden sich insgesamt drei Geschichten, die in den großen indischen Metropolen Mumbai, Delhi und Kalkutta spielen. Namentlich sind dies „Wie eine zurückliegende Welle" von Kamlesh Bakhshi, „Anonyme Großstadt" von Priyadarshan sowie „Hindernisse" von Mridula Garg. Ergänzt werden diese Erzählungen jeweils durch einen ausführlichen Glossar sowie eine beiliegende CD, die es ermöglicht, sich die Geschichten sowohl in der Originalsprache Hindi als auch in deutscher Übersetzung anzuhören. Die Hindi-Versionen bestechen hierbei durch ihre langsame und deutliche, wenngleich auch etwas langweilige und langatmige Aussprache. Aber um letzteres geht es auch nicht. Der Band richtet sich an Lernende mit Basiskenntnissen in Hindi, für die in erster Linie der Sprachklang und nicht das Hörerlebnis im Vordergrund stehen. Man sollte also kein Audiobuch erwarten, für Studierende des Hindi allerdings kann gesagt werden, dass die beigefügte CD in Anbetracht des nach wie vor eingeschränkten Lehrmaterials eine wirkliche Hilfestellung anbietet, mit der Sprache vertraut zu werden. Auch die Auswahl der Texte kann diesbezüglich als gelungen betrachtet werden. Aus literarischen Gesichtspunkten hätte man sich sicher für andere Erzählungen entscheiden können, aber gerade die einfache und alltägliche Umgangssprache, die alle drei Geschichten prägt, macht diese für ihr Zielpublikum zugänglich und verständlich. Die Übersetzungen wurden alle von Studierenden des Seminars für Südasien-Studien der Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin angefertigt. Insgesamt sind alle drei gelungen, auch wenn sie literarisch durchaus noch freier übersetzt hätten werden können, was wiederum zu Lasten eines Vergleichs mit den Originaltexten geführt hätte. Dieses kaum zu lösende Problem spricht auch die Herausgeberin des Bandes, Hannelore Lötzke, die selbst Hindi an der Humboldt-Universität unterrichtet und die die Übersetzungen des vorliegenden Bandes betreut hat, in ihrem Vorwort an. Die „Hindi-Großstadtgeschichten" sollten daher auch als das bewertet werden, was sie sind: ein Band für Hindi-Lernende mit Basiskenntnissen. Und für diese lautet das Urteil: sehr empfehlenswert und eine echte Bereicherung.

Hans-Martin Kunz



Hans Harder
Verkehrte Welten : bengalische Satiren aus dem kolonialen Kalkutta ; bengalisch-deutsch
Heidelberg: Draupadi-Verlag, 2011. - 333 S. : Ill.

ISBN: 978-3-937603-52-0
SAI-Signatur: nsp 2.18 C 2011/5435

Auch im Draupadi Verlag erschien diesen Herbst ein zweisprachiger Band. Hierbei handelt es sich allerdings nicht um zeitgenössische Literatur, sondern bengalische Kolonialsatiren aus dem späten 19. und frühen 20. Jahrhundert. Herausgegeben wurde dieses Buch von Hans Harder, Professor für Neusprachliche Südasienstudien und Leiter des Forschungsprojektes "Gauging Cultural Asymmetries: Asian Satire and the Search for Identity in the Era of Colonialism and Imperialism" des Exzellenzclusters Asia and Europe in a Global Context. "War die berühmte „Bengal Renaissance" des 19. und 20. Jh. ausschließlich eine Phase ernsthafter Modernisierung und gesellschaftlicher und religiöser Reform? War nicht die Kolonialgesellschaft zugleich auch eine völlig verkehrte Welt, deren vielfältige Asymmetrien man am besten mit dem indirekten Modus der Satire ans Licht brachte? In den 13 Texten dieses Bandes entsteht ein anderes Bild Britisch-Indiens und seiner langjährigen Hauptstadt Kalkutta: Witzig, geistreich, zielsicher und ausgesprochen selbstironisch nimmt hier eine kolonial geprägte Mittelklasse gelegentlich die Kolonialherren, vor allem aber sich selbst und ihre Zeit aufs Korn." So lautet die Buchbeschreibung auf dem Cover. Viele der Originaltexte dieses Bandes finden Sie auch in der bengalischen Zeitschriftensammlung auf unserem Dokumentenserver.

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masala Newsletter Virtuelle Fachbibliothek
ISSN 2190-328X